

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL RELATIONS

CHIEFTAINSHIP AND MEETINGS

619 National solidarity was strong among the Maricopa. This is
[171] the same sentiment recorded for other Yuman tribes of western
Arizona and which sets them off so markedly from Californian
peoples. The Maricopa constantly referred to themselves as a
single homogeneous people, all participating equally in their
group life and all united against their enemies. This despite the
fact that their settlements were sprawling agglomerations of
households spread over a considerable area.

[649] The solidarity expressed itself in at least three ways. There
was but one chief for the whole tribe so far as is known. Men of
prominence might be found in the several villages but they had
no formal status as chiefs. Again, there were no internecine
[628] feuds. In all the long discussions with informants, there was never
so much as a hint of conflict between families or villages. And
[701] further, in warfare they presented a united front against their
enemies, whether in attack or defense. Minor raids took place, to
[726] be sure, but what stands out in their minds are the massed bat-
tles in which a large proportion of their able-bodied men took
part. This attitude of the Maricopa seems to have been dupli-
cated among the tribes now resident with the Maricopa when in
their original homes on the Colorado, although here our data are
so slight as to be inconclusive. But once the remnants of these
[563] tribes had been incorporated in the Maricopa community, they
felt themselves completely identified with their Maricopa hosts
as forming one coherent whole.

643 Both Maricopa and Halchidhoma had chiefs whose position
724 was hereditary and functions vague. It proved difficult to get
787 adequate information about them. Dreamers (shamans and
others) were mentioned frequently and voluntarily; specific ques-

Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana
Halyikwamai

155

SOCIAL RELATIONS

tioning had to be directed to chieftainship with but unsatisfac-⁶⁴³
tory results. It would seem that others were at least equally⁷⁸⁷
prominent socially: shamans, song and dance leaders, the direc-¹²⁴
tors of funerals and mourning ceremonies, custodians of scalps,⁵³⁴
war leaders, orators, etc. All or most of them had the prestige⁶⁴³
that derived from dreaming the powers that entitled them to⁷⁸⁷
their positions. In a society that put a premium on dream-sanctions, it is intelligible why the chief, whose functions were of little moment, should receive slight attention.

There seems to have been but one chief at a time in each of the¹⁷⁵
tribes. The difficulty is that our information relates to the period⁶⁴³
of joint community of Maricopa, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and⁵⁶³
Halyikwamai. The groups were then impoverished in numbers
and lived in mixed and scattered settlements interdigitated with
Pima. There is also a question how far the chief's prestige or the
office itself was due to recognition by Mexican authorities.⁶⁴⁸

At the Sacate settlement when Kutox was a boy, about 1855, the Pima, Halchidhoma, and Kohuana had each their own chief. Su¹am, "down-feathers travelling," was the Kohuana chief. He was entering ^{on} age at the time, and while he might have been chief when they came from the Colorado (1838-39), Kutox was uncertain.² At about the same time Malai, a man of like age, was chief of the Halchidhoma, then a group of perhaps twenty families. He may have been appointed by the Mexicans when they were in Mexico twenty years before. Kutox did not know whether, in an earlier period, there had been more than one Maricopa or Halchidhoma chief at a time. It seems unlikely: since he could remember the ancestry of chiefs of his day, he should have known of plural chiefs in earlier times. Last Star declared emphatically that the Maricopa had but one chief at a time.

The Maricopa tribal chief was in reality the chief of the⁶⁴⁸
strongest village. Other villages lacked chiefs: "they came to
that place when they wanted to find out anything." Practically
he was chosen by the people of his village: they simply came to
him for advice and to have him address them, until he came to be
recognized as chief. In native theory, however, he dreamed his⁷⁸⁷
position. Last Star was not certain what spirit was the subject

¹ Papago-foot, mentioned by Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 801) on Mohave authority as Kohuana chief about 1883, was, according to Kutox, not a chief but a respected old man. Last Star thought he may have been given a trial as chief, but could not have held the position for any great time. ¹¹⁴

YUMAN TRIBES OF THE GILA RIVER

721 ate when the family did, but during all his waking hours for the
783 next four days he maintained this position. From time to time
other men would visit to see if they could make him laugh at
their remarks. Each of these days he also bathed before dawn.
This terminated the purification. "By the end of these twenty
days, he was so thin as to be scarcely recognizable." The whole
performance had to be gone through should he again kill an
enemy.

CAPTIVES

727 Not many captives seem to have been taken. This was cer-
tainly not an objective of their warfare. Small boys were made
captive, less commonly girls and women, but larger lads were
killed because, being able to escape, they might lead the enemy
against their captors. Women were seldom taken for the same
reason. When they were captured, they were always hurried off
[439] to sell in Mexico. Children were usually kept until they too were
[567] old enough to sell.

[753] Captives were thought to carry sickness which would fall on
the captor unless he got rid of them or they were purified. A
child was immediately handed over to an older man to rear.
Women and girls were given into the custody of old men, who,
since they had not much longer to live, might chance the danger
of keeping them. As with the Mohave, who had the identical
reason,²⁰ it seems fairly certain that captive women were not
violated.

727 Purification for the captive was much like that of the captor.
783 The child was given very little food and made to bathe and put
mud over his hair for the twenty days. It was kept away from
the family for this period; made to sleep in a separate part of the
dwelling, and they dared not eat from the same bowl with it.

727 Children were sometimes kept for life, reared by the men they
563 had been given to as members of their families. The owner's
daughter might interpose on behalf of a little girl of whom she
grew fond. Boys were brought up with the thought that ulti-
mately they would serve as guides and fight against their own

²⁰ Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 752.

SOCIAL RELATIONS

183

people. Some people would pity them; those who reared them were kind; others outside the family might abuse them. But abuse ceased and their foreign origin was forgotten after these boys and girls had married Maricopa. Several Maricopa now living are known to have Yavapai blood, possibly all derived from a single captive ancestress. 727
563

A grown girl was captured from the Apache [Yavapai?]. Her owners treated her exactly as their own daughter. She rode with us against the Apache, showing the way. When she first arrived she was unintelligible, but by the time she was grown she could speak Maricopa and Pima.

Captives were collectively known as *n,ixu'alyacðu'm*, "——— taken be mistreated" (*n,ixu'*, meaningless?; *alyac*, "to mistreat," as by throwing dirt; *ðu'm*, "to take"); a single captive, *n,ixu'-alyaðu'*. A captive who had been kept for a long time was called *n,ixu'alyikw'alc*, "old captive" (from *n,yikw'a*, "old," "ancient").³⁰ 192
727

³⁰ It seems probable that the last is the original of the term for captives used in the Spanish documents, *nixoras* (*niforas*). By its context the word seems to have been derived from the Yuman tongues. Font (1775) wrote: "They [the Yuma] usually . . . try to capture a few children in order to take them out to sell in the lands of the Spaniards. These captives are called Nixoras by us in Sonora, no matter where they come from." But while here the word appears Sonoran, hence presumably Piman, he corrects this impression later (see below). Anza, for his part, wrote as though the Nixoras constituted a separate tribe: thus, in enumerating the personnel of the expedition of 1775, he listed "five interpreters of the Pima, Yuma, Cajuenchi, and Nifora languages," and in a letter of December, 1775, "This tribe [Cocomaricopa?], together with the preceding tribes and the Halchedunes, Niforas, Cahuenches, and others." But Font specifically corrects this: "I asked him [Anza] to tell me how he understood the entry which he knew he had made in his diary, that is to say, 'five interpreters for five tribes,' for I did not find more than three, and four at the most, counting as a servant of his an interpreter of the Pima tribe. . . . The fact is that in order to heap up the salaries he had listed one as an interpreter of the Nixora tribe, though there is no such tribe; for in the Pimería they call Nixoras the Indians whom the tribes of the interior in their wars capture amongst themselves, and whom afterwards the Yumas and Pápagos bring to El Altar and other places to sell as captives or slaves, no matter what tribe they may belong to." As a matter of fact, Anza nowhere else wrote of the Nixoras as a tribe. Garcés several times used the name as a tribal designation, but with vagueness; he finally assigned "Niforas or Cuilanivora or Naxi" to those Yavapai (or better upland Yumans) living northeast of the Halchidhoma. But there is no conviction to be derived from his usage that this was actually a tribal name (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 382; III, 2; IV, 102, 513; V, 305). 114
192
175
727

194 YUMAN TRIBES OF THE GILA RIVER

829 less names, three of them grouped in one moiety, two in the other. The moieties are called Vulture (buzzard), Red People, or Red Cow-Killer, and Coyote, White People, or White Cow-Killer.⁴² My informants did not know why those of Pima ancestry were classed invariably as either xipa' or l_{ew}'c. They knew only that the part Pima of xipa' sib say that their sib refers to the coyote. The reason is, however, transparent: since Maricopa-Halchidhoma xipa' refers to the coyote, l_{ew}'c to the buzzard, the Pima married into the Maricopa community have been equated by their moiety affiliation with the local sib system.⁴³ (This raises the question, incidentally, whether the essential Pima unit is not the moiety rather than the sib.)

162 The relative numerical strength of the sibs, as checked from an
614 allotment list of 1915, is as follows: xipa', 83; l_{ew}'c, 55; cīkama',
21; xavātca'c, 16; sala'l, 14; cīnyikwī's, 12; kwītk, l_l'⁴, 12; xamī-
tu'tc, 9; cūkapa's, 9; pakl't, 5; kwūc'ku', 1; l_{amu}'c, 1; tōxpā's,
1; xīlyi', 1 (total 240). Kūmādi' and mavl's are extinct; the latter, at least, may never have existed. Since tōxpā's and xīlyi' are represented only by women, they too are about to be extinguished. My informant Last Star believes that xipa' and l_{ew}'c were the largest sibs in earlier times as they are today.

164 While all the members of a sib were regarded as in some sense
611 related, it was recognized that there were several distinct lines of
601 descent within it, between which blood relationship could not be established, or at least was not definitely known. Hence people of one's own sib, not relatives, were not called by kinship terms. The terms in use were "friend," kiya' (used between men) and ciya' (when one or both persons were women). So also a man might marry in his mother's sib anyone not related to her by blood. On the other hand, marriage to a non-relative of one's own sib was prohibited.

There seems to have been no preferred marriages between par-

⁴² Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 197; Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 455; Lloyd, pp. 147, 163; Gifford, *Clans and Moieties*, p. 174.

⁴³ It is interesting to note that my informant remarked that "the Pima say tcl_k, l_l'va (man's cross-cousin) for cimu'l (sib)." Parsons found that the Pima referred to the moiety by the term that is used for cross-cousins (*op. cit.*, p. 456).

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

321

parents are very indulgent, much given to fondling the younger⁸⁶¹ children, and rarely punish them. But—here is the essential point—they demand implicit obedience and see that they get it.

For all the lavished care normally the lot of children, there were cases to the contrary implying a certain detachment. Children were sometimes abandoned or destroyed.

While the Halchidhoma were still on the Colorado, a woman, whose first husband had sent her away because she bore him no children, had a girl baby by a second husband. His family made them separate because it was a girl. She said it was not right to raise a child who had no father, implying it was a bastard, so she drowned it.

Of a woman now living they say, "She was raised in a coyote's mouth." When she was a newborn (?) baby, her mother did not want her and put her off in the bushes. Her children had always died when but a few days or weeks old, so she thought it was no use trying to raise this one. They say a coyote must have kept the baby in his mouth all night, and in the morning opened it so the sun would warm the child. (This was, of course, a saying, not a belief.) Next morning the husband's mother said she did not want the child to die, so she fetched it and brought it up. It was given to various relatives to nurse. The girl, now in middle life, says she is "mean" because she was abandoned to die; that now her mother is old, she expects care from her daughter, but why should she give it? As a matter of fact, it is well known that she takes good care of her mother.

About 1840 a Kohuana widow of Gila Crossing decided that she wanted to rejoin her relatives still on the Colorado. She did not think her children, a boy of six and a girl of two, could make the long journey across the desert, so she abandoned them. Telling them to go to play, she stole away. The children slept in the meeting house and ate with whom they could. They had no relatives there, but people befriended them.

There was a saying: never abuse a child, because the day will come when you too will be a child (childish); which also implies their consideration for the aged.

Captive children, other than those sold immediately, were reared much like one's own. When a capture was made, the child was always turned over to an old man, who had not much longer to live anyway, for a captive might cause its captor to sicken. For sixteen days following the capture, the captive had to bathe, eat and sleep apart like the actual captor until it was purified. The old man's family would usually rear the child kindly, treat it as a son or daughter, especially if their own daughter was fond of her adopted sister. Others than members of this family might abuse them, but after they were grown and married to

322 YUMAN TRIBES OF THE GILA RIVER

563 someone of the Maricopa community, their captive origin was no
727 longer brought up against them.

867 Admonition was frequently given children. Kutox phrased
the ideals of life as follows:

We would tell a boy to grow up strong and brave, to love his neighbors and to be industrious. When a child was old enough, it was told to treat old people kindly; to share whatever it had with an old woman who could not help herself; never to throw things at an old woman. Boys should try to become famous in war. Girls were told to be industrious and kind to everyone. Girls were looked on as enemies; they were called that (see p. 225).

185 One thing appeared clearly from discussion, that, unlike ourselves, a parent did not feel that his child should climb to a higher social position than his own, or amass more wealth. "They did not seem to look ahead."

[72] Warfare was an ideal pursuit.

[888] Fathers told their sons to go to war. It was good to die young; everyone mourned if one was killed in war. But an old man receives scant attention and nobody cares if he dies (said Kutox, himself aged).

866 Little boys of four to six were trained to withstand pain with this end in view. They were tested by pinching them hard or striking with a stick. The procedure may have been somewhat formalized, for it was said that several boys were tested together by an old man. If they did not cry out when struck, they were next placed on an ant hill to be bitten and finally pushed into a wasps' or bees' nest. It was taken as a sign that they would become brave warriors, if they did not cry. This procedure had no special name and was distinct from the following.

866 A group of boys of sixteen or eighteen were subjected to a
883 formal test called *tcutō'xām* by old warriors. They were admonished to be brave, to withstand starvation, thirst, and fatigue, and were told how to fight. The song *tcutō'xām* (p. 268) was sung before the boys were taken to kill a swarm of bees hiving in the ground or in a hollow cottonwood. They were made to sit on the hive and deliberately kill all the bees, one at a time, regardless of their stings. This represented going to war, the bees being the enemy. This was not ostensibly a puberty ceremony.¹⁰

[171] ¹⁰ There is an analog in the ant ordeal for boys among Luisiño and Juaneño (Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 641, 672).